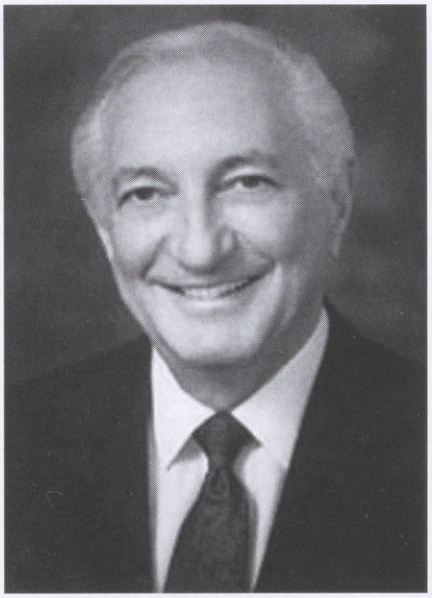
CENTER FOR MODERN GREEK STUDIES
THE NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS CHAIR
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY

ΜΑΝΤΑΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ

ΕΔΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ
MODERN GREEK STUDIES FOUNDATION

MANTATOPHOROS: "BEARER OF NEWS, MESSENGER"

PETRIS LECTURE SERIES INAUGURATED



Senator Nicholas C. Petris was honored at the inaugural program of an annual lecture series named for him. The program was held on June third at the Seven Hills Conference Center at San Francisco State University. Senator Petris is one of the founders of the Modern Greek Studies Foundation and served as the first president of the organization. He was also one of the Bay Area Greek American community leaders to bring about the creation of the Center for Modern Greek Studies at SFSU.

The lecture series, co-sponsored by the MGSF, the CMGS and the Colleges of Humanities and Behavioral Sciences at SFSU, was established to honor the Senator's achievements in public service both to the State of California and to the Greek American community. The series will focus on his interests in history, politics and the behavioral sciences from both a Greek and a Greek American perspective. Future lectures and seminars will be funded by the income from an endowment under the auspices of the MGSF.

The highlight of the day's events was a talk by California State Attorney General Bill Lockyer, who saluted the Senator's life of public service as a moral and political leader. Reflecting on his 40 year political career, Lockyer mentioned a variety of bills initiated by the Senator that were adopted by the Legislature including ones on mental health, a clean-up of the Bay Area environment, a ban to curb smoking in public and control of agricultural pesticides. Lockyer said that Petris was always "innovative with bold policy and …because of his efforts, he created a better state." In commenting on his erudition, Lockyer also commended the Senator for the high standard of civility and decency in his interactions with both supporters and political opponents.

Assemblypersons Elaine Kontominos Alquist and Lou Papan also spoke about their long association with Petris and praised him as both a mentor and role model. Alquist also presented the Senator with a Resolution from the State Legislature honoring his service.

Dr. Peter Haikalis, President of MGSF and the Master of Ceremonies for the event introduced the following who brought greetings: George Marcus, Chairperson of the Board of the MGSF; Dr. Robert Corrigan, President of SFSU; Dean Nancy McDermid, College of Humanities, who quoted several prominent Modern Greek poets, including Giorgos Seferis and Yannis Ritsos; Dr. Martha Klironomos, Center Director, and California State University Trustee Kyriakos Tsakopoulos who praised the Senator as the "Lion of the Senate." Dean McDermid was also honored with a plaque from MGSF for her 20 years of dedicated support to the cause of Modern Greek Studies at the University.

Senator Petris concluded the program with a series of remarks both humorous and serious. He spoke of the strong devotion Greeks have had to public service since the time of Pericles and their love of learning and striving for excellence in all aspects of life. Petris concluded by reading a letter from Alex Spanos congratulating the Senator for his many contributions and offering a check for $5000 to the lecture endowment fund. Upon concluding his remarks he was greeted by a standing ovation and the outcry of "Axios" which in English means "worthy." A buffet reception hosted by George and Judy Marcus followed the program with wine compliments of the Lolonis Winery.

> ***"And yet we should consider how we go forward***
>
> ***From the eyes of men when they look straight ahead without fear in their hearts***
>
> ***When they look straight ahead like the traveler who is used to gauging his way by the stars"***
>
> A few selected lines from "An Old Man on the River Bank" by Giorgos Seferis quoted by Dean McDermid in her remarks at the Petris lecture, June 3, 2001

Planning is now underway for the 2001/2002 program, which will feature a panel discussion on Greek/Turkish foreign relations as they have evolved in the past several years to be led by Professor Elizabeth Prodromou. Representatives of the Greek and Turkish governments will also be asked to participate.

(continued on p. 6)

Greek American Oral History Project Launched

The Greek American Oral History Archive began the process of recording interviews in the Spring of this year. Volunteer members of the Oral History Committee conducted pilot interviews to test the procedures for recording memoirs. As of June, the following oral histories have been recorded: Leonidas Petrakis by Patricia Yost, Ron Pavellas and Artemis Pavellas by Peter Haikalis, John Bardis by Tina Palivos, and Helen Ernst, James Lewnes and Artemis Lewnes by Mary Nicholson Goldworth.

The Archives Intern Gentle Wagner is a graduate student in Museum Studies at SFSU and a student of Modern Greek. She is working in the Center to establish a database for the Archive and to coordinate the process of gathering interviews. Ms. Wagner accompanied Patricia Yost, one of the Archives' volunteer interviewers, in the pre-interview process and the recording of Leonidas Petrakis' oral history. "It was a very exciting experience," she said. "I have always enjoyed listening to people's life stories. Many individuals of my generation have not had to endure these experiences, both tragic and life-altering. For me it is essential that we be reminded of the past, so as to appreciate each day."

The Northern California Greek American Archive is a project of The Center for Modern Greek Studies at San Francisco State University, with the support and collaboration of the Modern Greek Studies Foundation.

Gentle Wagner, CMGS Intern, with Dr. Mary Nicholson Goldworth , one of the originators of the Archive Project, and Smithy Blackwell, CMGS Office Manager.

The Archive is housed in the Center for Modern Greek Studies at San Francisco State University. The Archive's long-term goal is to maintain recorded documents of oral history interviews with local Greek immigrants and Greek Americans from the earliest immigrations through the twentieth century and continue as an ongoing project into the present millennium. The archive's focus is on the history of Greek Americans in northern California but primarily on the Bay Area.

The Archive will consist of an electronic collection of audio tapes and videos. Photographs and other memorabilia that can be stored in digitized format on computer discs will be added as space permits. In addition, a comprehensive microform collection of Greek American newspapers published throughout California as well as a collection of books and periodicals related to the scope of the Archive and to the history of the Greek American experience are to be housed at the J. Paul Leonard Library at San Francisco State University.

If you are interested in participating in the oral history project, or may know someone who would be a good candidate for an oral history, please contact the oral history hotline at (415) 405-0722.

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with Prof. Thanasis Maskaleris
September 5-20, 2001

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FALL 2001 CLASSES

Registration Information

San Francisco State University

Students should register through SFSU touchtone system. Open registration begins July 13th and runs through Aug. 25, 2001. Adding classes continues through Sept. 15th. Classes begin Wednesday, Aug. 29, 2001. To confirm registration information, check the SFSU website at www.sfsu.edu

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MGS/GRE 150 Modern Greek I

Introduction to the Modern Greek language. Basic oral expression, listening comprehension, reading and writing will be emphasized. **This is a GE course. 3 units**

Instructor **Prof. Martha Klironomos**
Time: **M/W 2:10–3:25 pm**
Location: **Humanities Building**

MGS/GRE 365 Intermediate Modern Greek III

A continuation of Modern Greek II. Accelerated emphasis on conversation, grammar, reading, and writing in contemporary Greek. **3 units**

Instructor: **Prof. Martha Klironomos**
Time: **M 4:10–6:55 pm**
Location: **Humanities Building**

Related Graduate Course:

WCL 825 "Memory, Nation and Diaspora"
Advanced Study in Comparative Literature

This seminar will explore the topics of national culture, memory, and diaspora and their representation in literature. Readings stem from a variety of disciplines such as literary theory, philosophy, history and political science. **3 units**

Instructor: **Prof. Martha Klironomos**
Time: **M 6:10–8:55 pm**
Location: **HUM 374**

Offered through the College of Extended Learning:

MGS 152 Modern Greek Conversation

A course for the advanced beginner, offered through the **College of Extended Learning**,* and geared toward practical language usage. **2 units**

Instructor: **Katerina Chiotis**
Time: **Tu 7:00–9:00 pm**
Location: **Humanities Building**

The Greek Civil War and Its History

Stathis N. Kalyvas
Department of Political Science
The University of Chicago

The Greek civil war is one of the three major contemporary European civil wars (along with the Spanish and Russian ones). It was fought on and off between 1943 and 1949. It began during the joint German-Italian-Bulgarian occupation of the country, following Greece's defeat in 1941. As the occupation shattered old structures and loyalties, a powerful Communist-controlled resistance movement emerged: EAM (the Greek acronym for National Liberation Front). In 1943, EAM eliminated almost all non-communist resistance movements. The same year, the occupation authorities formed a collaborationist army, generically known as "Security Battalions." In 1944, the war between ELAS (EAM's partisan army known as the National Popular Liberation Army), and the Security Battalions evolved into a full-fledged civil war that led to thousands of victims and long-lasting hatreds, along with the political identities that still inform Greek politics. Following the departure of the Germans, in October 1944, the entire country with the exception of Athens came under EAM control. In mass reprisals, the partisans massacred thousands of Security Battalionists.

When the government-in-exile, supported by Britain, returned to Athens and established its authority, a wave of bloody retaliation against EAM members, often led by former Security Battalionists, took place. Eventually, right-wing and left-wing irregular bands fought each other (with civilians being the primary target) in 1945 and 1946. In 1946, the Communist Party decided to fight an all-out war, which lasted until 1949 and is often referred to as "the Greek Civil War." The implementation of the Truman doctrine, the unwillingness of the Soviet Union to back the Communists with massive support, and the Tito-Stalin fallout, all contributed to the ultimate and total defeat of the Communist Party, which remained outlawed until 1974. Overall, about 600,000 Greeks died of various causes between 1940 and 1949 — in a country populated by less than seven million. Hundreds of thousands became refugees, within and outside Greece. Thousands of its supporters left Greece for the Soviet block in the wake of the defeat—some ending up as far as Uzbekistan. Suspected Communist sympathizers were harassed and discriminated against.

The historical literature that emerged right after the end of the civil war was consistent with the adage that history is written by the winners. The main thesis was that EAM was no more than a cover used by the Communists to win power either peacefully, or, if this proved impossible, violently. Terror was widely used by EAM, and its dominant position within the Greek resistance was the result of the systematic destruction of nationalist resistance organizations. In such circumstances collaboration with the occupiers could be excused since the prospect of long-term communism was a bigger threat than short-term fascist occupation. Having failed to win power in 1944, the Communist party then planned a new insurrection in 1947, helped by the Soviet Union and its satellites — in partial exchange for which it accepted the country's partition through the transfer of Greek Macedonia to Greece's northern neighbors. "Communist" was equated with treason. Most of the work produced during this period took the form of popular pamphlets, rich in references to the violence and the "un-Greekness" of the left, but rather short in facts. The emphasis was placed more on the last phase of the civil war than on the period of the occupation. The most useful part of this otherwise forgettable production are memoirs published by prominent military leaders of the governmental army and a series of publications on military history published by the Historical Service of the army. For years, the basic source on the period of occupation remained the memoirs of the British agents who worked with the partisans (the most prominent of whom, C. M. Woodhouse, died recently). During this period historical works sympathetic to the left were only published outside Greece.

The political liberalization of the 1960s was eventually reflected in the historiography of the Civil War. The first left-wing analyses of the war began to appear in Greece. The main lines of the leftist thesis (which, of course, comes in many versions) can be summarized as follows: EAM was a broad-based, mostly non-communist mass movement, which expressed the popular aspirations for liberation from foreign occupation and a more just social order. EAM would have come to power by peaceful means

had it not been stopped by the British who supported the local oligarchy and sponsored mass violence against it. Forced by the British to resort to arms in December 1944 and 1947, this popular movement lost only because of foreign (British and, then, US) intervention. Those who fought against Nazi Germany were executed or languished in prisons while former collaborationists became part of the postwar power establishment.

After a seven-year hiatus due to the military dictatorship (1967-1974), this literature all but erased the right-wing versions of history. A Greek-American journalist who visited Greece in 1977 was surprised: he describes a situation in which "posters, movies, books, popular songs and the youth organizations in the universities were united in celebrating the guerrillas of the civil war as heroes. It seemed that the best talents of Greece were busy rewriting the history of the war." In the 1980s, the leftist version of history became hegemonic. The victory of the Socialist party (PASOK) in 1981 turned this version into state orthodoxy much along the same lines that the Right had with done in the 1950s. Following the long-awaited official recognition of EAM as a resistance organization in 1982 (in the context of a highly emotional debate in the National Assembly during which the opposition New Democracy party walked-out in protest), the leftist version of the civil war became a staple of official discourse and schoolbooks. When the renowned Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis voiced a public criticism of the leftist version of civil war history (he deemed them Stalinist), he was openly and vehemently insulted in the first page of the highest circulation Athens daily.

Contrary to what one would have expected, the end of the cold war has hardly altered this situation. The last three years have seen the successive (and commercially successful) publication of a significant number historical books, heavily biased in favor of the left. A climate of ideological suspicion continues to reign. For instance, a Greek journalist writing a book review in 1998 quipped that the political orientation of the authors of books on the civil war can be "sensed immediately and with certainty." Moreover, serious historical research has been impeded by the sad state of the Greek archives, the non-availability of the largest part of the archives of the Communist Party, and one of the most outrageous acts of destruction of a country's collective memory: The burning of millions of

personal files (held by the police) and related state documents concerning both the civil war and the postwar period in celebratory bonfires all over the country during the summer of 1989. The intention was to celebrate the "national reconciliation" and the "true end of the civil war" on the occasion of the formation of an extraordinary coalition cabinet, which included the Greek Right and a Leftist coalition containing the Communist Party!

Yet despite these obstacles, a revisionist trend is slowly (and still timidly) emerging. Recent work focuses more on the period of the occupation, takes into account social and economic factors, adopts a view "from the ground up" with a strong local bent, places Greek history in a wider comparative perspective, and relies on unconventional material to make up for the absence of archival sources, such as oral history, local studies, personal memoirs. What emerges is a very complex and nuanced set of shifting and segmented loyalties, heavily informed by local considerations and conflicts, in which terror was never the monopoly of a single camp. In addition, new groundbreaking work examines the civil war in Macedonia which appears to have been an exceedingly complex conflict blending ethnic, social, and ideological cleavages with such diverse participants as Slavophone Macedonians, Greek Macedonian Turkophone (or not) refugees from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, Greek Macedonian refugees from Bulgaria and the Caucasus, and various groups of transient nomads (Vlachs and Sarakatsans) all speaking different dialects and languages. We still know little about the multi-faceted aspects of this conflict in which identities were fluid and shifting. For example, a Slavophone peasant of western Macedonia could be alternatively (or even in turn!) a self-professed Bulgarian *komitadji* collaborating with the German occupation authorities, a member of the Slavophone guerrillas of ELAS, a member of Tito's Macedonian partisans, and a right-wing Greek nationalist militiaman. The first findings to come out of the revisionist literature undermine the dichotomous perception of the civil war as a conflict between two well-defined, monolithic, and all-encompassing ideological camps. In Greece, as elsewhere, a sensible understanding of civil war only seems to emerge once its passions have subsided.

Illustrations:

p. 4: woodcut of the blocco at Kokkinia, Athens, August 1944. Unknown source

p. 5: woodcut of an EAM rally against the proposed mobilization of the civilian population. Unknown source

These illustrations were reprinted in Mark Mazower's *Inside Hitler's Greece*, Yale University Press, 1993.

See page 7 of this issue of **Mantatophoros** *for an account of the lecture given by Professor Kalyvas at San Francisco State University, February 23, 2001.*

Petris Lecture,
(continued from p. 1)

Dr. Prodromou is the Associate Director of the Institute on Religion and World Affairs at Boston University, where she also teaches in the Department of International Relations. An expert on Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, her scholarship and policy work focuses on religion and international relations, nationalism and conflict resolution, democracy and religious change, culture and international security. Dr. Prodromou is also Executive Director at the Cambridge Foundation for Peace and Senior Research Fellow at Harvard University in the Kennedy School of Government.

Dr. John Cladis, MGSF treasurer, has indicated that the initial target of $30,000 for the endowment is in sight as a result of the generosity of the many underwriters whose names are mentioned below. MGSF hopes the fund will continue to grow so that full-day seminars as well as well as lectures can be held. Those wishing to make donations to the endowment may send their checks to :

MGSF
P.O. Box 22243,
San Francisco, CA 94122.

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We wish to thank all of you who have contributed to the Petris Lecture Endowment fund and are especially appreciative of the generosity of those individuals and organizations who have joined this effort as underwriters.

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Peter Haikalis, President of the MGSF and coordinator of the inaugral Petris lecture, with Senator Petris

CMGS Visiting Speakers for Spring 2001

February 2001

(February 23, 2001) ***Professor Stathis Kalyvas***, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, spoke on ***Violence in the Greek Civil War***.

Prof. Kalyvas with members of the lecture audience

Why do some places turn extremely violent while others manage to avoid violence? Why does one village escape with little or no violence when a neighboring village experiences massacre on a large scale? In this lecture, Prof. Kalyvas discussed his attempts to explore the tremendous variation in violence across similar social landscapes in the context of the Greek Civil War. His work examines new research and combines both oral histories and written sources from both southern and northern Greece.

A question and answer session following the talk evoked discussion from many in the standing-room only audience, some with first-hand knowledge of the Greek Civil War. This talk was co-sponsored by the SFSU History Department and the Humanities Department at SFSU.

Prof. Kalyvas teaches in the Department of Political Science, at the University of Chicago. Prof. Kalyvas is the author of *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (1996) and is working on *The Logic of Violence in Civil War.* **(See Prof. Kalyvas' article on the Greek Civil War in this issue)**

April 2001

(April 19, 2001) ***Nicholas Samaras,*** **Greek-American poet,** read selections from his work, both published and non-published.

Nicholas Samaras's first volume, *Hands of the Saddlemaker*, (1992), received the Yale Series of Younger Poets Award. His second collection is *Survivors of the Moving Earth* (1998). His individual poems have been featured in *The New Yorker, The New York Times, The Paris Review, Poetry, Kenyon Review,* etc.

During his visit, Dr. Samaras lectured in Modern Greek Studies classes at the University, where he wove together popular culture with myth and language. The SFSU Department of English co-sponsored this event.

Dr. Nicholas Samaras and Prof. Martha Klironomos

Student News

Gentle Wagner, Museum Studies Intern at the Center, will be participating in the 2001 International Summer School for Greek Language, History, and Culture at the Institute for Balkan Studies in Thessaloniki, Greece. We also thank Gentle for her contributions to this issue of *Mantatophoros* and for her help with the Greek American Oral History Project.

Demitra Georgopoulos, an SFSU undergraduate student, has created a special major which combines Modern Greek Studies, Classics, International Business, and Hospitality Management. These areas of study will give her the background to work with Greek companies and the Greek hospitality industry. We wish them both every success in the pursuing of their studies.

MASKALERIS SCHOLARSHIP NOW AVAILABLE

The Modern Greek Studies Foundation announces the competition for a new scholarship, honoring Emeritus Professor Thanasis Maskaleris, founding director of the Center for Modern Greek Studies at San Francisco State University (1981-1996). This scholarship will provide financial support to continuing undergraduate or graduate students pursuing Modern Greek Studies at San Francisco State University. The scholarships will be awarded for one year and will expire at the end of that year. Winners are eligible to apply for another award during the following application period.

This year the Modern Greek Studies Foundation will award two one-year scholarships, each $600, or one $1,200 scholarship. Awards will be based on academic achievement, leadership, service, and financial need.

For information regarding eligibility and /or to receive a scholarship application packet, please call the Center for Modern Greek Studies at San Francisco State University at 415-338-1892 or e-mail the Center at modgreek@sfsu.edu

Completed application materials must be returned to the committee chairperson at:

Chair, Maskaleris Scholarship Committee
Modern Greek Studies Foundation
P. O. Box 22243
San Francisco, CA 94122

The packet must be postmarked by **July 15, 2001**

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Our current course offerings, lecture schedule and other information about the Center for Modern Greek Studies can be found on our web site: ***http://www.sfsu.edu/~modgreek***

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